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The author discusses claims that linguistics can solve the problems of language teaching. Linguistics is either a theory of language or a description of a particular language, and both vary greatly from investigator to investigator, both as to scope and substance. Linguistic "analysis is the business of the linguist" but it is not essential to the learning of a language, and the units of analysis may not be the same as those needed for learning the language. The linguist's prediction of expected errors, based on contrastive analysis of native and target languages, is not as useful for teaching as the experience of teachers listing actual errors made. Most contrastive descriptions are so "incomplete as to be misleading." Linguistics can help the teacher to know more about the foreign language, which, in turn, can help his teaching of it. The author concludes: "Contemporary claims that applied linguistics can solve all the problems of language teaching are as unfounded as the claims that applied psychology can solve them. For the problems of language teaching are central neither to psychology nor linguistics." (MK)

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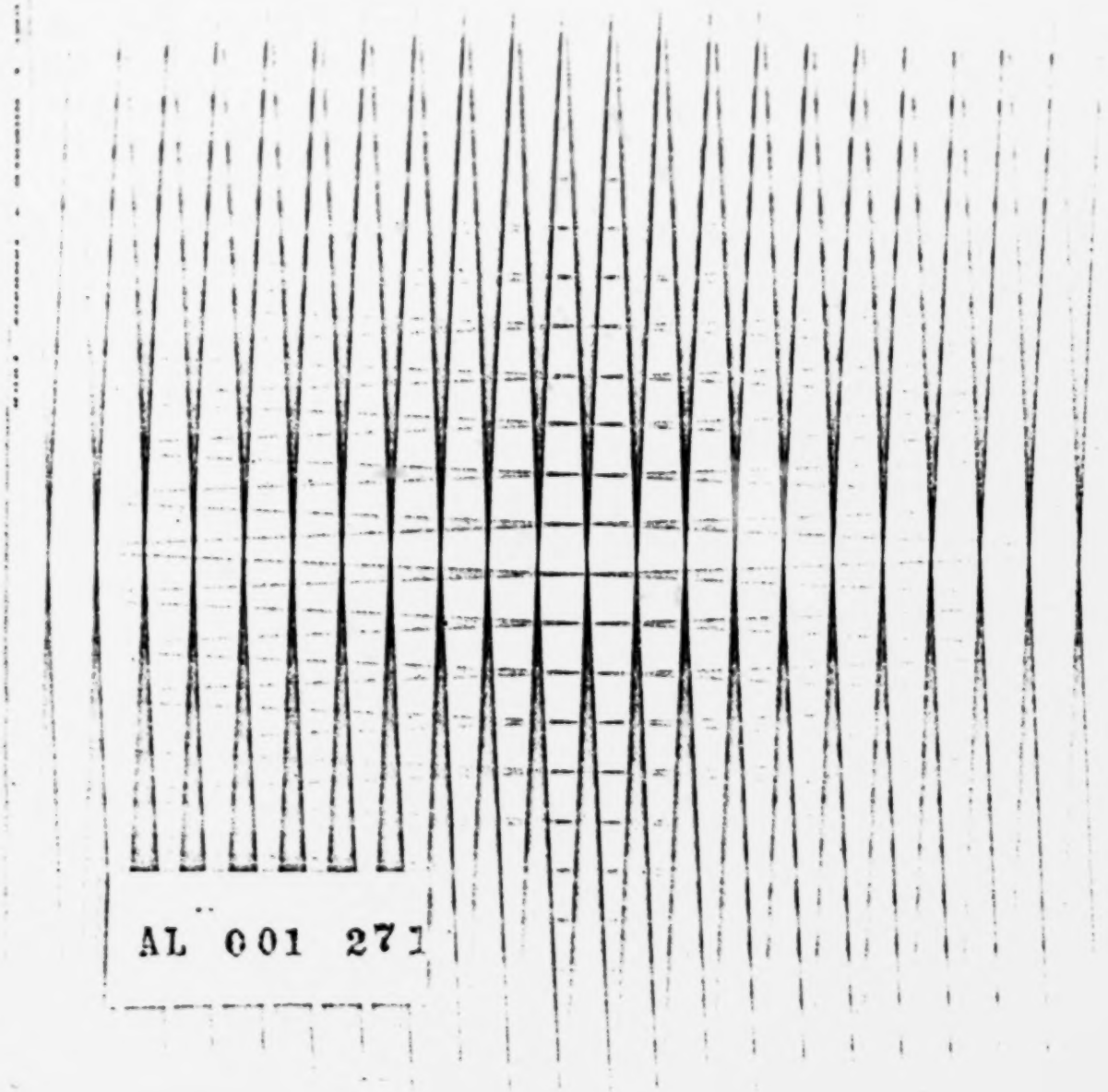

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Applied Linguistics: Its Meaning and Use[1]

W. F. MACKEY

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AMONG the post-war remedies for the betterment of foreign-language teaching it is applied linguistics that has attracted the greatest attention. In the training of language teachers this new discipline is gradually taking the place of philology①. Every year practising language teachers are hearing more and more about 'the science of applied linguistics'. In some quarters language teaching is considered to be the exclusive province of this new science. And in certain countries national agencies have been convinced that no one not trained in the techniques of applied linguistics can successfully teach a language.

What is applied linguistics? What does one apply when one applies linguistics? How does it relate to language learning? How does it concern language teaching? Of what use is it to the teacher? What is new about it? These are some of the questions which language teachers have been asking; it is the purpose of this article to supply some of the answers, without necessarily trying, as many such efforts often do, to sell the product at the same time. Let us take the above questions in the order in which they appear.

1. *What is applied linguistics?*

The term 'applied linguistics' seems to have originated in the United States in the 1940's. It was first used by persons with an obvious desire to be identified as scientists rather than as humanists; the association with 'applied science' can hardly have been accidental. Yet, although linguistics is a science, 'applied science'

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[1]This is a modified version of an article which appeared in *Vuosikirja* 4: *Suomen Uusien Keilten Opettajien Liito.*

〔訳者注①〕 philology と linguistics とは明瞭な区分はつけがたいが R.H. Robins の区分を引記する。英国では philology を史的言語学や比較言語学 (comparative philology) の意味に用い、ドイツでは古代ギリシャ・ローマ時代の文献的研究を意味する。一方、linguistics については、"Linguistics in its narrowest interpretation concentrates on the formal analysis and description of languages as its central domain; in so far as linguists widen the scope of their subject in dealing with meaning they may be said to approach the realm of philological studies." R.H. Robins, *General Linguistics: Introductive Survey*, Longmans. 1964. p. 7

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does not necessarily include linguistics[2].

The creation of applied linguistics as a discipline represents an effort to find practical applications for 'modern scientific linguistics'. While assuming that linguistics can be an applied science, it brings together such diverse activities as the making of alphabets by missionaries and the making of translations by machines. The use of the term has now become crystallized in the names of language centres[3], reviews, books, and articles.

2. *What does one apply?*

What does one apply when one applies linguistics? What is applied may be a theory of language and/or a description of one.

If it is a theory of language, what is applied depends of course on the sort of theory being used. If the theory is based on the existence of units of meaning, for example, the results will be different from what they would be if the theory ignored the existence of such units.

There are dozens of ways in which one theory may differ from another; and there are dozens of different theories of language, several of which are mutually contradictory. Some of these constitute schools of language theory, like the Saussurian School[4], the Psychomechanic School[5], the Glossematic School[6], the Bloomfieldian School[7], the Prague School[8], the Firthian

〔訳者注②〕 応用言語学についての論文集として Harold B. Allen, *Readings in Applied Linguistics*, Appleton, 1958, pp. xiii + 428 をあげることができる。また純理論言語学と応用言語学との密接な関係を述べた論文にはR.I. McDavid, Jr. "Pure and Applied Linguistics", *SIL* 5. 2. 27—32 (1947) がある。

〔訳者注③〕 なかでも Center for Applied Linguistics (1775 Mass. Ave., N.W. Washington D.C. 20036) が有名で，最近の参考文献を紹介する "Linguistic Reporter" は便利。

〔訳者注④〕 Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) の流れを汲む学派で彼の講義は死後 Charles Bally や Albert Sechehaye などの門弟たちによって編集され，*Cours de Linguistique Générale* という書名で 1916 年に出版された。邦訳は小林英夫 (1940)，英訳は Wade Baskin (1959) によってなされた。「通時的」(diachronique) と「共時的」(synchronique) の区別，「ラング」(langue, language) と「パロール」(parole, speech) との区別はソシュール学派の特徴である。

〔訳者注⑤〕 Mackey は psychomechanics の定義を "the study of language as mental movement" として次のように述べている。

"Its basic postulate is that the mental operations involved in the use of language necessarily take a certain amount of time, infinitestimal though this may be. The task of psychomechanics is to identify these mental operations and to refer them to mental time in an effort to demonstrate the mental process involved in acts of language." *Language Teaching Analysis*. 1965. p. 23

〔訳者注⑥〕 コペンハーゲンの L. Hjelmslev を中心とする学派で Uldall, Diderichsen, E. Fisher-Jørgensen, K. Togeby, H. Vøgt などがいる。L. Hjelmslev の *Prolegomena to a Theory of Language* (1953, Waverley Press) が特に重要。この学派の理論は，関式 (form) と資料 (substance) の対立関係を表現 (expression) と内容 (content) の双方に認めていく，いわば公理から出発する数学に似た論法であるが，二カ国語間の比較ととか話しことばと書きことばの比較という時にはこの分析法は意味をもつといえる (なお，太田朗訳・解説，フリーズ原著，「外国語としての英語の教授と学習」pp. 252~56 参照)

〔訳者注⑦〕 Bloomfield の直接の弟子ではなく彼の著書 *Language* (1935) によって影響を受けた言語学者で，一般に構造言語者 (Structural linguistics) ともいわれている。ソシュールの「概念」とか「聴覚映像」とかメンタリスティックな説明を排除し，直接観察可能なデータや言語行動を重んずる厳格な科学的態度がその特徴。Post-Bloomfieldian ともいわれ，Trager-Smith, A. A. Hill などがその代表的存在。

〔訳者注⑧〕 主として音韻論の問題に力を注いだので「プラーグ音韻学派」とも呼ばれ，この方面への貢献は大きい。Mathesius, Trubetzkoy, Jakobson, Vachek, Trunka などが有名。

School⑧, and others⑨. When we examine the many theories of different schools and individuals we note that very few indeed have ever been applied to anything. We also notice that those which have been applied are not necessarily the most applicable. On the other hand, the fact that a language theory has never been applied to language teaching does not mean that it cannot be. Some of the more ambitious and inclusive theories, which seem to be the most relevant, have in fact never been applied.

Secondly, if it is a description of a language that is being applied, it might include any or all of its phonetics, grammar, or vocabulary. And since descriptions based on the same theory often differ, there are more varieties of description than there are types of theory.

Descriptions differ in their purpose, extent, and presentation. Some descriptions aim at being concise; others at being extensive. Some analyse the language by breaking it down; others by building it up. Some are made as if the language described is unknown to the linguist; others as if it is already known to the reader. Some will present the language in two levels (grammar and phonology); others in as many as fourteen⑩. Yet the number of levels of a description is no indication of its linguistic range; a three-level description may have a wider scope than an eight-level one which excludes vocabulary, meaning, or context. Some descriptions are based on written works; others on speech. Some may cover all areas in which the language is spoken; others may be limited to a single city. Some may be compiled from the speech of a single person over a period of a few weeks; others may be based on the writings of many authors covering a few centuries.

It is obvious, therefore, that the problem of the language teacher is not only whether or not to apply linguistics, but whose linguistics to apply, and what sort.

3. *How does it relate to language learning?*

In order to exist, a language must have been learnt; but in order to be learnt a language does not have to have been analysed.

〔編者注⑧〕 J. R. Firth を中心とする英国の最も有力な学派。言語の社会的機能，すなわち "context of situation" を重んずる行き方で，意味を最初から考慮する点 Bloomfield 学派と対象的である。Firth の弟子には M.A.K. Halliday, R.H. Robins, J.C. Catford, など有力な言語学者がいる。cf. Firth, *Papers in Linguistics*. Oxford, 1957. *In Memory of J. R. Firth*. Longmans, 1966.

〔編者注⑨〕 この他 K.L. Pike の Tagmemics, Noam Chomsky の Transformational Generative Grammar, Sidney Lamb の Stratificational Grammar を追加することができよう。

〔編者注⑩〕 14 のレベルに分析するのは Brondal で sound symbolism, sounds and sound systems, syllabification and stress, phonetic function, phonetic syntax, shape of words, word formation, inflections, agreement, parts of speech, word-order, sentence and sentence elements, style, semantics である。詳しくは W.F. Mackey, *Language Teaching Analysis* Longmans, 1965. pp. 37–40 参照。

For the process of learning a language is quite different from the process of analysing one. Persons who have never gone to school find it difficult to divide their language into such classes as the parts of speech, despite the fact that they may speak their native language with a great deal of fluency and elegance. Foreign languages have also been successfully mastered throughout the ages without benefit of analysis.

It is the production of methods of analysis that is the business of the linguist. But if the linguist claims that such and such a method is the best way to learn the language, he is speaking outside his competence. For it is not learning, but language, that is the object of linguistics. Language learning cannot therefore be the purpose of linguistics—pure or applied. Applied linguistics is not language learning.

Therefore the units used for analysing a language are not necessarily those needed for learning it. As an illustration, let us take a sample of an analysis of English made by a representative of one of the schools of linguistics which has done the most applied linguistics in language teaching. As a case in point, let us take the description of the English pronouns. The pronouns are arranged into seven sets, which include 23 units. To explain these, 34 other units (called *morphs*) are brought into the picture, although they have no further function than to explain the first 23. Rules are then given to 'convert the abstract forms into those actually found'. For example, after having learned that the abstract form for the first person plural object is *{w-i-m,}㊟ we get the form actually found, the form *us*, by applying the following rule:

1. *we:* {w-i-y}
2. *us:* *{w-i-m}; {—m} after {w-i-} becomes {-s}; *{w-i-} before resulting {-s} becomes {-e-}, a portmanteau
3. *our:* *{w-i-r}; before {-r} and {r-z}, initial consonant and vowel are transposed, giving *{i- w-}; initial *{i-} becomes {a-} before {-w-}
4. *ours:* *{w-i-r-z} (See rules given for 3.)[1]

If this is to be applied linguistics, it should justify the definition of philology sometimes attributed to Voltaire, 'la science où les voyelles ne comptent pour rien, et les consonnes pour peu de chose'㊠. One can imagine what happens when two languages are contrasted on this basis.

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[1] A. A. Hill, *Introduction to Linguistic Structures: from sound to sentence in English.* New York: Harcourt, 1958, p. 150.

〔編者注㊟〕 * について，all forms not actually found are marked with an asterisk. (Hill)

〔編者注㊠〕「母音にはなんの意味もなく，子音に若干の意味のある学問」。Voltaire の philology に関する定義となっているが，出典不明。

It is true, however, that some linguists have pointed out the disparity between language learning and language description, stating that 'a linguistic description of a language is of little help in learning the language; recently published structural accounts of European languages rebut any disclaimer to this judgment'.[1] For two descriptions of the same language can be so different that a learner may not be blamed for wondering whether the units and categories alleged to form the essential elements of the language exist only in the minds of those who have attempted to describe it.

4. *How does it concern language teaching?*

Although the linguistic descriptions of the same language are not identical, it is now widely admitted that the linguist is the competent person to write our grammars, phonetics manuals, and dictionaries. In some quarters it is assumed that the very fact he can do this makes him qualified to form language-teaching policy and prepare language-teaching texts. In the use of applied linguistics in language teaching, it has been further assumed that if one is able to make a thorough description of the forms of a language, one is by that very fact able to teach it.

These assumptions are obviously ill-founded, for there have been outstanding language teachers with no knowledge of linguistics. And it has been demonstrated that 'the methods of the linguistic scientist *as a teacher* are not necessarily the most effective'.[2] This can be explained by the different preoccupations of the two disciplines. Much of the present state of applied linguistics in language teaching is due to the fact that some linguists have been more interested in finding an application for their science than in solving the problems of language teaching. Some of the unhappy results have been due to a desire to apply to language teaching a one-sided technique of formal description with no universal validity, even in the field of linguistic analysis.

Much is made of the ability of the linguist to predict mistakes by comparing the native language of the learner with the language he is being taught. This differential description is sometimes confusingly called 'contrastive linguistics', a term which also means the analysis of a single language based essentially on the contrast of its units one with the other. What is the use of predicting mistakes already heard? Since anyone who has taught a language

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[1] J. Whatmough, *Language: A Modern Synthesis.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1956, p. 145.

[2] J. B. Carroll, *The Study of Language: A survey of linguistics and related disciplines in America.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953, p. 192.

can predict from experience the sort of mistakes his students are likely to make *a posteriori*, is he any the wiser for the *a priori* and less reliable prediction which the linguist makes on the basis of a differential analysis?

It has been stated as a principle of 'applied linguistics' that all the mistakes of the language learner are due to the make-up of his native language. This is demonstrably false. Many mistakes actually made have no parallel in the native language; they are simply extensions of the foreign language patterns into areas in which they do not apply, e.g. **I said him so* on the analogy of *I told him so*. Other mistakes are due to a confusion of new material with parts of the language not deeply enough ingrained; this inhibition is a matter of order and rate of intake. Still other mistakes are due to the habit, which language learners soon acquire, of avoiding the similarities with their native language. This may result in either blind guessing or the systematic avoidance of native patterns, even though these exist in the foreign language, e.g. works like *attack* (a cognate of the French *attaque*) are stressed on the first syllable by French learners of English despite the fact that both French and English versions have the stress on the final syllable. Texts for language teaching based only on the differences between the two languages cannot take these important tendencies into account.

Even for the many mistakes due directly to interference from the native language the practising teacher is in a better position than the descriptive linguist. For although a differential description, of English and French for example, may indeed point out the fact that a French learner of English may have difficulty in pronouncing the interdental sounds of *thin* and *then* because of their absence from the French phoneme inventory, it cannot predict, as can an experienced teacher, which way a given learner or group of learners will handle the difficulty. In fact, different learners with the same native language do make different mistakes; the above interdental sounds, for example, are rendered sometimes as /s, z/, sometimes as /t, d/. But this information is supplied, not by an *a priori* comparison of English and French, but by the observations of language teachers.

Applications of differential descriptions do not produce the same type of teaching. For some teachers will start drilling the differences because they are difficult, while others will start using the similarities because they are easy (e.g. the 'cognate method')[9].

Most of the available differential descriptions are so superficial and incomplete as to be misleading. This is because they are at

[9] i.e. "the learner starts by learning a basic vocabulary made up of words which are similar in form and meaning to those of his own language. These are then immediately used for oral and written expression." Mackey *op. cit.* p. 155.

best based on a unit-by-unit and structure-by-structure comparison of two languages. They fail to show all the units of the first language which are equivalent to structures in the second, and the structures in the first which are equivalent to units in the second. They also ignore the units and structures of one level that are equivalent to structures and units of another. And even with this, they are still dealing only with the make-up of the languages, not with the multiple differences in contextual usage, with the fact that in such and such circumstance a learner must say one thing in his native language but something entirely different in the foreign language. Since we do not have such complete differential descriptions of any two languages—even of the most widely known—we are likely to get better results by collecting and classifying the mistakes which the learners make than by trying to predict those we should expect him to make.

5. *Of what use is it to the teacher?*

It is the business of the language teacher to know the foreign language, to know how to teach it and to know something about it. It is in relation to this latter need that linguistics might be expected to be useful. But the contents of most courses in linguistics for language teachers are seldom concerned with the analysis of the material which the teacher will have to teach; they are of little direct help in the preparation of specific language lessons. At best, they are background courses in the description of the language to be taught. In practice, many such courses are devoted to proving to the language teacher that most of the grammar rules he has been taught are false because they have not been arrived at by 'scientific' methods of analysis. In some courses, the very word 'grammar' is taboo; one refers not to the 'grammar of the English language' but rather to the 'structure of the English language'. Teachers are asked to discard familiar and widely accepted terms which have a long tradition of usage, in favour of a new jargon representing one of several brands of language analysis. And after having mastered the technicalities of one brand of linguistics the language teacher encounters other brands with conflicting theories and contradictory methods of analysis. Should he then keep on believing in one without trying to understand the others? Or should he study all of them?

What is the language teacher to do when faced with the multiplicity of approaches to the analysis of a language and the different trends in descriptive linguistics? What should be his attitude when asked to give up his grammars on the grounds that they are unscientific—that they give recipes rather than formulas?

Above all, the language teacher must be interested in results; and tested recipes are often better than untested formulas. Until more complete and definitive analyses are available, language teaching will have to rely for its description of a language on those abundant and serviceable grammars of the past. For a language teacher, the completeness of a grammar is more relevant than its scientific consistency; clarity is more important than conciseness; examples more useful than definitions. If the language teacher is to wait until more scientific grammars are produced he puts himself in the position of the tanner of hides who stops tanning until the chemists have found the chemical formula describing exactly what is done. The formula, once discovered, might eventually improve the tanning operation; but until it is formulated and tested and proven more effective, the only sensible thing to do is to continue tanning hides in a way that has given the best results.

The fact is that most of the new 'linguistically approved' grammars being applied to language teaching are more difficult to use and far less complete than are the older works. Some are no more than undigested research essays on the making of a grammar. Others represent a sort of do-it-yourself grammar-making kit allegedly designed to 'crack the code' of any language in the world.

Although the ability to analyse a language may not be the most important qualification of a language teacher, some training in practical linguistics can enable him to establish with more precision than he otherwise might what is the same and what is different in the languages with which he has to deal. It can also help him understand, evaluate, and perhaps use some of the descriptions of the language he is teaching. And if the training is neither too one-sided nor doctrinaire it may prevent him from becoming the prisoner of a single school of thought and enourage him to surmount the great terminological barriers which have prevented any mutual understanding in linguistics.

Ideally, such training could put the teacher in a position to analyse each linguistic contribution and its application to language teaching, from the small details of analysis to the hidden theoretical assumptions on which the analysis is based. Such training would make it unnecessary for the language teacher to swallow a man's philosophy along with his linguistics. For the main attraction of some analyses is their consistency with certain philosophical beliefs. Is it then any advantage to deny the beliefs and admit the consistency, for consistency's sake? Or is it better to seek an analysis which is philosophically more palatable but perhaps less consistent?

Finally, the proper sort of training could enable the teacher to distinguish between the scientific status of linguistics and the scientific pretensions of linguists. For some linguists seem to be

so eager to appear 'scientific' that they state or restate the most banal facts about a language in a pseudo-scientific notation and a collection of technical terms borrowed indifferently from several disciplines and heavy with scientific associations. Old ideas about language do not become better when couched in an unfamiliar jargon. This leads us to our final question.

6. *What is new about it?*

As far as language-teaching is concerned, there are very few ideas proposed as applied linguistics which were not familiar to teachers at one time or another. What, for example, is essentially different in practice between the 'phonemic transcription' proposed today and the 'broad transcription' used by language teachers in the past century?

Throughout the history of formal language teaching there has always been some sort of applied linguistics, as it is known today. For language teachers have always tended to apply language analysis to the teaching of a language; in fact, some of the first descriptions of a language were made for the purpose of teaching it. Yet the sorts of descriptions actually produced have varied with the needs and contingencies of the time. And some of the oldest are still some of the best. Such ancient classics as the grammars of Pānini, Dionysius, Priscian, and Donatus are not outclassed by those of today. Yet the blind application of the categories of these grammars to the description of modern European and even to non-European languages was obviously so unsuitable as to create a series of reactions which resulted in the attitude of 'scientific' superiority which afflicts contemporary linguistics.

One is the reaction against the linguistic analysis of exotic languages made in the past century—a type of analysis which superimposed the structure of European languages on the facts of the native language being described. As a reaction against this, techniques of description were developed by Boas, Sapir, and, especially, by Bloomfield and his associates. These techniques were apparently so successful that they were later applied to languages, like English, with a long tradition of linguistic analysis. This in turn was a reaction against the current English school grammars which still propagated the traditional definitions of the eighteenth century. But in the process the best linguistic traditions were ignored, including the works of such linguists as Sweet and Jespersen, so that the language might be handled as if the person describing its elements were unable to understand them. And the movement, which started as an effort to prevent the analysis of exotic languages as if they were English, found itself analysing

English as if it were an exotic language.

Against this trend, other reactions are beginning to take shape. These are appearing as a re-formulation of the traditional approach to grammar, a compromise with the older grammatical categories, a return to the study of ancient grammatical theory. It is now being admitted that the old universal grammatical theories were more in need of revision than of repudiation. And some linguists are beginning to consider the descriptions of 'modern scientific linguistics' as nothing more than another arrangement of the grammatical data, according to a less traditional outline, but nevertheless according to a completely arbitrary set of labels which has become fossilized within its own short linguistic tradition.[1]

If linguistics has been applied to the language part of 'language learning', psychology has been applied to the learning part of it. The history of the application of the principles of psychology to the learning of languages is analogous so that of the applications of linguistic analysis. So is the situation today. There are almost as many different theories of learning as there are theories of language. Most of them are still based on the observations of animal learning㊟. Although there is a promising branch of psychology devoted to verbal learning and verbal behaviour, it is still involved in solving problems related to the learning of isolated items.

In one form or another, both language analysis and psychology have always been applied to the teaching of foreign languages. In fact, the history of language teaching could be represented as a cyclic shift in prominence from the one to the other, a swing from the strict application of principles of language analysis to the single-minded insistence on principles of psychology. The history zigzags, with many minor oscillations in between, from the mediaeval grammarians to Comenius, from Plötz to Gouin. And today's interest in applied linguistics represents another swing toward the primacy of language analysis in language teaching.[2]

Contemporary claims that applied linguistics can solve all the problems of language teaching are as unfounded as the claims that applied psychology can solve them. For the problems of language teaching are central neither to psychology nor linguistics.

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[1]R. B. Lees, Review of *Syntactic Structures* by Noam Chomsky, *Language* 33:377.

[2]W. F. Mackey, *Language Teaching Analysis*. London: Longmans, 1966, p. 151.

〔訳者注㊟〕 動物の学習過程は B.F. Skinner, *Verbal Behavior* 以後プログラム学習理論に発展したが，動物と人間の学習とは質的に異なるという主張がある (Ex. Noam Chomsky, "A Review of B.F. Skinner's *Verbal Behavior*," *Language*, 35, No. 1 (1959) 26-58, also in *The Structure of Language* pp. 547-78. 1964)

Neither science is equipped to solve the problems of language teaching.

It is likely that language teaching will continue to be a child of fashion in lingustics and psychology until the time it becomes an autonomous discipline which uses these related sciences instead of being used by them. To become autonomous it will, like any science, have to weave its own net, so as to fish out from the oceans of human experience and natural phenomena only the elements it needs, and, ignoring the rest, be able to say with the ichthyologist of Sir Arthur Eddington, 'What my net can't catch isn't fish.'

～～～あとがき～～～

外国語としての英語教育に applied linguistics が果して貢献し得るものであるかという点に関して，Mackey 教授はこの論文において明確な分析をしている。結論としては，効果的な英語教授は言語学や心理学の単なる応用によってできるものではなく，教師が授業中，直接観察して得られた事実や経験を生かすことによって始めて可能であるとしているようである。なぜならば言語理論にいくつもの異説があり，また言語記述にもいく通りもあり，それらが相反している場合も少なくないからである。これは心理学でも同様である。一例をあげると，母国語と英語とを比較して，学習上の困難点をすべて予測できるかというとそうではなく，"false analogy" (ex. I told him so→*I said him so) や "confusion"，また学習者自身の "habit" などがあり言語学的な予測よりも，学習者が実際に犯す誤まりを分析した方がより正しい結果が得られる。

しかし言語学が教師に不要ということではない。Mackey 教授は利点として次のように本論で述べている。"Some training in practical linguistics can enable him to establish with more precision than he otherwise might what is the same and what is different in the languages with which he has to deal. It can also help him to understand, evaluate, and perhaps use some of the descriptions of the language he is teaching . . . " (p. 13)

また，心理学的な研究も必要であり，"animal learning" の応用として外国語学習を考えるべきか，それとも，学習者の動機づけとして別な工夫が必要であるかは今後の研究に待たねばなるまい。